

The first group — a large one — is composed of people who believe that all of this unrest was caused by a few wicked individuals, whom they even call criminals and gangsters. According to their background, their education, their nationality, their economic conditions, their temperament, these people make this man or that man the scapegoat. By imposing all responsibility and guilt upon a single person, they obscure their vision of the fact that the causes and effects of this crisis are much more powerful; that the crisis is more widespread. There are no oceans between it and us. People belonging to this group believe that if only Stalin or Mussolini or Hitler or Roosevelt were made harmless, peace in the political world, peace in the social and economic world, and peace within their hearts would automatically return. Since they take political measures as the only remedy for the crisis, we may call them by a friendly name, "political critics," and by an unfriendly name, "the superficial." They can have no pedagogical theories of their own.

The second group — irritated, annoyed, and disgusted by the historical development just as the first one — has a completely negative attitude. People in this group consider the social and political order into which they were born as the only one; that is, the only just one and the only right one. Everything should remain as it has always been (by "always" they mean for the last fifty to one hundred years). They look at the past as the prologue to their own time. Now, as the historical development has been fulfilled, history should come to a standstill. The future should be but a repetition and a continuation of the present. They expect to overcome the threatening dangers by holding fast to old forms, by giving many and detailed prescriptions which can be easily enforced. They overlook the fact that the internal order and philosophy of life is the condition of the external order; that the external order becomes moribund if the internal one dies away. The struggle for freedom, and the political, religious, and scientific martyrs, prove that the policeman and even the hangman cannot guard against change. Because these people put all hope in tradition, one may call them, using a friendly name, "conservatives." And opponents may call them, "reactionaries." Their pedagogical theory calls for many and strict rules, for many examinations and requirements.

To the third group belong those who welcome the decline or breakdown of the old order as the breakdown of order as such. They believe that one has only to put aside the limitations and boundaries set up by state and society, and that then individuals, freed from silly forms — free and happy individuals — will walk the earth in innumerable specimens.

What a festival day it would be for man if suddenly all the boundaries erected by law and custom, state and society, collapsed! Just this is the meaning of many festival customs: to realize, at least momentarily, this fantasy; and by a kind of illusion to suspend for a while the established order or to turn it upside down! It was a custom of the Roman Saturnalia for the masters to serve their